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V.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

THE recent changes in the New York Custom-House, where more than seventy per cent. of our customs revenue is collected, have brought again to the front reform in the civil service, and present a new phase in its progress.

In December last the Senate refused, by the vote (as reported) of thirty-one to twenty-five, to confirm the nomination as Collector of the late Theodore Roosevelt of honored memory, who was understood to be in perfect accord with the President's policy, in place of General Chester A. Arthur, who had been Collector since 1871, and who was known to regard it with less approval. That vote of the Senate, whatever the varying motives that induced it, blocked the President's plan by placing him in the position of a general whose corps-commanders were in sympathy with the enemy, and openly at variance with their chief.

The exercise by the President, since the adjournment of the Senate, of his constitutional right to remove and appoint during a recess, has given him for the first time in New York a Collector of his own choice: and the appointment shows that his temporary acquiescence in the rejection of Mr. Roosevelt implied neither alarm nor indifference, least of all an abandonment of his pledges.

His appointment of General Merritt and Colonel Burt will hardly be cited to prove that "want of will-power" which has been so freely attributed to Mr. Hayes by his enemies, and perhaps sometimes by his impatient friends. It has encouraged, on the contrary, the high hope that the velvet glove conceals the iron hand; and that with the gentle courtesy of the President is blended the firm resolve, in view of the temper and strength of the opposition both Republican and Democratic, to exert his constitutional authority, during the remainder of his term, with

a prompt and judicious vigor that may redeem past mistakes and past delays, and secure, however severe the struggle, the due execution of the laws and the honest collection of the national revenue.

But the task of the President—who is happily free from suspicion of aiming at a second term—involves the permanent reform of the service; and that requires congressional legislation to secure appointments by merit, and a tenure dependent on good behavior.

This work, therefore, for which but two and a half years are left to the Administration, demands all the tact and skill of the President and of the statesmen who compose the cabinet, to enlist the representatives of the culture, the commerce, and the industry of the country in a common effort, to prevent the Government from hopelessly degenerating into an oligarchy of politicians, maintaining themselves by patronage and plunder.

The honorable and intelligent members of both Houses must recognize the exigencies and dangers that confront us. They know that our Indian troubles, with their waste of heroic life and treasure, result from the peculations and bad faith of our own agents. They are aware that the terrible burdens imposed by the civil war have been year by year increased by official folly, imbecility, and crime. They see the popular discontent threatening disorder and the Commune, stimulated by the thought that the hard sufferings of the poor are intensified by the wrongful conversion of the Government to the enrichment of its partisans.

Our honest and patriotic Congressmen, whatever their politics or preferences, may well hasten to unite in some effective scheme to protect the civil service from spoliation and collusion; especially when they recall the picture presented by Colonel Mosby, who, anticipating the possible return of the Democrats to power, said that they would come to Washington “as fierce as famine and as hungry as the grave!”

The question of reform in the New York Custom-House, whatever its special interests, which can hardly be exaggerated, for that city and State, concerns the whole country in connection with our imports, exports, duties, and revenue; and its bearings extend to the entire civil service.

Astute observers are agreed that it cannot be excluded from

the presidential canvass; and that, whatever other issues may present themselves, the question how far the Republican party, under President Hayes, has honestly fulfilled the pledges which it gave at Cincinnati, is one that cannot be avoided; and for that party it would seem clear that the only possibility of success rests upon its fidelity to the work of reform.

The position of the President was defined in his note to Mr. Secretary Sherman, May 26, 1877 :

“I concur with the Commission in their recommendations. It is my wish that the collection of the revenue should be free from partisan control, and organized on a strictly business basis, with the same guarantees for efficiency and fidelity in the selection of the chief and subordinate officers that would be required by a prudent merchant. Party leaders should have no more influence in appointments than other equally respectable citizens. No assessments for political purposes on officers should be allowed. No useless officer or employé should be retained. No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties.”

The counter-views of Collector Arthur appear from his letter, in November, 1877, to Mr. Secretary Sherman, reviewing the first four reports of the Investigating Commission. Before quoting the letter, it may assist in a survey of the political situation on this subject, to recall some of the features of the civil service at the close of the Democratic and pro-slavery *régime* in 1861, and of the fluctuations of civil-service reform during the rule of the Republican party for the last seventeen years. Events with us move rapidly, and, with the lessons they should teach, are too rapidly forgotten. Our countrymen do not always appreciate the importance of preserving an accurate memory of political events as they occur, and of recognizing in the department of facts and statistics what Sir George Lewis calls “the entrance and propylæa to politics.”

Our recollections of Mr. Buchanan’s Administration are connected with the desperate attempt to force slavery into Kansas; and later, when the rebellion came, the bad faith on the part of

the Administration toward the people of the United States, when the Treasury was emptied, forts, arsenals, and navy-yards, were surrendered, arms and munitions stolen and destroyed, and our little navy scattered and disabled—presenting a picture of governmental treachery unrivaled in its extent and unapproachable in the darkness of its shadows. That picture, so vividly recalled by the name of Buchanan, has dimmed the memory of the official corruption under his Administration, which had previously startled the American people, and aroused the wonder of the world.

In the teeth of the Constitution, of the law of the land, and the sentiment of Christendom, the African slave-trade was reopened beneath the spire of Trinity, on so large a scale that New York presently became, in the words of the London *Times*, “the greatest slave-trade mart in the world.” The New York *World* of July 31, 1860, declared that “nearly a hundred slavers have been fitted out from this port within the last eighteen months;” and Mr. Seward, in the Senate, admitted that the African slave-trade was an American trade, and that its root was in the city of New York.

Passing the period of the war, we find that the scum of venality and corruption had come largely to the surface, while the country, exhausted by its struggles, reposed in the confidence of success. When, in 1868, General Grant was called from the command of the army to the Executive chair, so thoroughly unsatisfactory had become the condition of the civil service that in his second message he said, “The elevation and the purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States.”

In March, 1871, a law was enacted authorizing the President, with the aid of persons selected by himself, to put in operation rules and regulations for carrying a civil-service reform into effect. The Commission appointed was headed by the Hon. George William Curtis, and their report announced a loss of startling magnitude when it said, “It is calculated, by those who have made a careful study of all the facts, that one-fourth of the revenue of the United States is annually lost in the collection.” In December, 1871, the report was transmitted to Congress by special message; and the President said, “If left to me, without further congressional action, the rules presented by the Commission, under the reservation already mentioned, will be faithfully executed.”

Congress approved the rules reported by making an appropriation; the power of civil-service reform in the canvass was recognized by the Republican, the Liberal Republican, the Democratic, and the National Reform Conventions; and, after the success of the Republicans with their repeated pledges, there came the abandonment of the work by the President, and the consequent resignation of Mr. Curtis.

What General Grant's reform might have done for the country, had he maintained in the cabinet the same tenacity he had shown in the field, is a question which, perhaps, future historians will ask. What his abandonment of reform did for the party which had chosen him as its chief, history teaches us to-day, and the record is significant:

Grant in 1868 had 214 electoral votes,	Seymour 71.
Grant " 1872 " 286 "	Greeley (dead).
Hayes " 1876 " 185 "	Tilden 184.

The Republican majority of 143 votes in 1868 came down to a majority of one in 1876, although it is but fair to say that expert politicians attribute a part of this loss—some fix it at forty votes—to intimidation and violence in the Southern States.

Why President Grant made a surrender so disappointing to the hopes of the nation, so fraught with evil to the country, so ruinous to the Republican party, and so fatal to his own fame, has never been satisfactorily explained. "The humiliating truth is," said Mr. Eaton, "that the defeat and abandonment of the civil-service rules was without justifiable excuse, involved a breach of public pledges, and was a national disgrace."

After that abandonment, eminent men who had been associated with the Republicans for years passed over to the ranks of the Democracy, whose chief, Governor Tilden, declared that "the question of honest administration and the question of securing official accountability were the great questions of the future."

A striking glance at some of the less pleasing features of the country at this period was given by Mr. Senator Hoar, whose ability, scholarship, and character, for a time, lent dignity to the cabinet of General Grant. In the impeachment of General Belknap for corrupt practices as Secretary of War, the Senator said: "My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of

senatorial office. But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption and maladministration. I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen, in the State in the Union foremost in power and wealth, four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a by-word throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates, for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together this continent and uniting the two seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrines avowed, by men grown old in public office, that the true way by which power should be gained in the republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service; and that the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition, and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President.

“These things have passed into history. The Hallam or the Tacitus or the Sismondi or the Macaulay who writes the annals of our time, will record them with his inexorable pen.”

The sadly solemn warning of the Senator of Massachusetts has been echoed from beyond the sea.

“The high offices of the state,” said the London *Quarterly Review*, “have been largely filled by such adventurers as we described; hence the corruption, the sale of offices, the unblushing bribery which have fixed an indelible stigma upon the Administration of General Grant.”

"Personally," said the *Nineteenth Century*, after referring to some of the scandals of Grant's second term—the Washington ring, the accessories of the whiskey ring, and the complicity with fraud in the War Department—"personally, the character of the Administration sank lower and lower."

The *Fortnightly Review*, drawing a distinction generously stated, and not to be overlooked, said, "The corruption and general discredit which lowered the reputation of the United States under the Administration of General Grant were alarming, but they were certainly not the outcome of any corruption in the nation at large."

Here is the idea, confidently stated by General Grant, that the American people desire the elevation and purification of the civil service; and that idea was embodied in the platform on which Mr. Hayes was nominated and elected. The President took his seat in March, 1877, and during the next month of April Mr. Secretary Sherman organized a Commission to examine into the New York Custom-House, composed of Messrs. John Jay, Lawrence Turnure, and J. H. Robinson. Their sittings after the first two or three days were held in public, and the testimony taken was more or less fully reported and commented upon. The examination was conducted chiefly by Mr. Robinson, the learned and experienced Assistant Solicitor of the Treasury, and Mr. Turnure, the well-known and accomplished member of the firm of Moses Taylor & Co.; and the familiarity of these gentlemen with the minutest details of the service contributed to the ease and thoroughness of the investigation. The Secretary, while indicating the subjects of the inquiry, advised the Commission that the object of their appointment was "not to examine into the conduct of the present officers, but into the present system." This instruction enabled the Commission to receive the officers with frank courtesy, not as men on whom they were to sit in judgment, but as gentlemen conversant with the workings of the system, and able and willing to favor the Commission with their suggestions for its improvement.

The Secretary had asked the heads of the departments to give the Commission their cordial assistance in pursuing the inquiries. Such assistance and advice were courteously and constantly given by the Collector, as well as by the Naval Officer, the Sur-

veyor, the Appraiser, deputy-collectors, heads of departments, and chief clerks; so that, of some ninety witnesses, about seventy were custom-house officials and experts; and the appendices to the reports contain various documents furnished by the Collector, with the exception of one which General Arthur speaks of as having been suppressed, but which miscarried on its way to Mr. Robinson at Washington. The Commission had also the benefit of suggestions made privately and in letters from more than two hundred mercantile firms, whose names they were not at liberty to quote; but the chief facts on which they based the reports, reviewed by the Collector, were furnished by that gentleman and his leading associates.

These conspicuous features of the investigation seem, curiously enough, to have escaped General Arthur's recollection when he suggests in his letter that the Commission "were in effect sitting in judgment" upon the chief officers of the customs; when lie complains that "no opportunity was given to cross-examine the witnesses or to show the spirit which animated them;" and when he complains again that the Commission had failed to furnish him with evidence "of misconduct on the part of any subordinates." All three suggestions are disposed of by the plain instructions of Mr. Secretary Sherman.

General Arthur further remarks that "a reference to the testimony will show, however, that the prominent and honorable merchants of this port made no complaints against the administration of the laws during the last five years." But this assertion seems a little broad, for General Arthur will hardly pretend to exclude from the class of "prominent and honorable merchants" the gentlemen who represented "the American silk-trade," or those who appeared for the "National Pottery Association;" or the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, and the distinguished representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, led by the Hon. Jackson S. Schultz, who so ably addressed the Commission on behalf of that venerable and influential body. The gentlemen of the Chamber, while explaining the defects in our system, remarked that the "customs service of Great Britain assists the merchant in every way it can, while ours purposely obstructs and hinders." They alluded to the "estrangement" which at present exists, and they said that "the efforts of the Commission were

looked to to bring about a better state of feeling between the merchants and the Government."

As to complaints from individual merchants, the disposition so frankly exhibited by the Collector to subject witnesses whose testimony might be displeasing to cross-examination and impeachment of their motives, may sufficiently explain the fact that so large a number of merchants whose names would be recognized far and wide as "prominent and honorable," and who were ready to aid in a reform of the system, preferred to submit their statements and suggestions in the form of confidential letters to the Commission of the Government or to that of the Chamber.

The Collector without specification suggests that the testimony "wholly fails to bear out the sweeping and general allegations of the Commission," and he gives his idea of a correct civil service, in which he includes permanence in office, promotion, and prompt punishment of misconduct, but from which he omits at least three heads which may be regarded as essential, to wit:

1. The ascertained qualification of each official for his particular post.
2. His ascertained good character.

3. The responsibility of each chief of a bureau for the conduct of his subordinates.

He then says, "I challenge comparison with any department of the Government, and maintain that civil-service reform has been more faithfully observed and more thoroughly carried out in the New York Custom-House than in any other branch or department of the Government, either under the present or any past Administration." That challenge, which in view of facts developed in the custom-house has an extraordinary significance, should secure an equally thorough investigation in each department to discover and correct errors of administration and immoral methods, and to terminate the dangerous control of outside politicians.

Two financial points in the custom-house to which the Commission addressed themselves were, first the cost, and then the loss in the collection of the revenue.

The interesting statistics furnished by General Arthur on the first point showed that the cost of collection on our total importations, which he had declared "the only way to estimate the percentage," was more than three times as great as in France, more

than four times as great as in Germany, and nearly five times as great as in Great Britain: the percentage being—United States, 1.33; France, .37; Germany, .30; and Great Britain, .27. It next appeared that while the cost of collecting our customs revenue was four times as great as in Germany, our loss in its collection was probably twice as large as the net customs revenue of that great empire.

President Grant's Commission, as already stated, estimated the loss at twenty-five per cent. In 1877 Secretary Sherman's Commission were assured at the Chamber of Commerce, on what was said to be "competent authority," that the loss had risen to forty per cent.; and the same opinion is attributed to General Butler, of Massachusetts. No encouragement was given for a hope of increasing strictness for the prevention of fraud, by Mr. Collector Arthur's statement that the diminished seizures under the law of 1874 "represent a loss of many millions to the Government caused by the comparative safety of those who are undertaking and accomplishing great frauds."

Assuming the annual receipts from customs to be \$150,000,000, the actual loss if only twenty-five per cent. would be \$50,000,000, and the loss if forty per cent. would be \$100,000,000. Taking the receipts at New York alone at \$108,000,000, the loss at twenty-five per cent. would be \$36,000,000, and at forty per cent. it would be \$72,000,000.

General Arthur admits that great frauds are being undertaken and accomplished in the New York Custom-House; and now comes the interesting question, How far are the losses of revenue due to the existing system of appointment at the request of political leaders and associations throughout the country?—a system which the Commission pronounced unsound in principle, dangerous and demoralizing in practice, and calculated to perpetuate official ignorance, inefficiency, and corruption. The explanation given by the late Collector of this system discloses a consciousness of the dangerous characters which it admits to the service, and his anxiety to escape the responsibility for the character of the force by transferring that responsibility to the irresponsible politicians who share the patronage of the customs.

General Arthur was quoted by the Commission as saying, "If among the ten thousand applications I find it possible to comply

with such a request, I make the appointment, and the persons for whom it is made bear their proportion of the responsibility for the character of the force."

General Arthur did not explain by what rule of law or canon of common-sense this grave responsibility was divided—what proportion rested on the Collector, and what on the nominating politician in Pennsylvania or Iowa; nor how under the Constitution and laws these politicians could be invested with the responsibility for the subordinate officers of the Government; nor how, if the force be bad, it could help the country, or the custom-house, or the Government, to say that the responsibility rests on irresponsible and unknown parties.

One self-evident inconvenience attending this mode of appointment, viz., that the Government is exposed to the admission of bad men, he distinctly admits. General Arthur says in his letter, "Unfit men may of course in this way procure appointments; but," he adds, "they are soon eliminated." The sort of men who procure appointments was in part shown by his evidence as quoted by the Commission in regard to complaints from one department, that of the Surveyor, in which General Arthur said of the complaints: "Some are for inefficiency, some for neglect of duty, some for ineptitude, and some for improper conduct in various ways; some for want of integrity, and some for accepting bribes."

In regard to the acceptance of bribes, General Arthur suggests that "the Commission obtained no evidence." But he had intimated in his letter of May 17, 1877, that the practice was extenuated as having "existed for more than a quarter of a century;" and Mr. Surveyor Sharpe admitted, without qualification, that the law against the acceptance of bribes was "a dead letter."

General Arthur says, "The Commission quote the testimony of myself and the Surveyor as to the complaints, but remember to forget to add my further statement that all such complaints were investigated and acted upon." The manner in which such complaints were sometimes acted upon, after they were investigated, is certainly worthy of remark. Mr. Isaac D. Balch, chief clerk of the Ninth Division, testified that he had made complaints against two clerks, and they had been punished by removal to another department, with an increase of pay.

Mr. Surveyor Sharpe threw a flood of light upon the custom-house meaning of "elimination" in the case of unfit men, such for instance as a defrauder of the revenue, who might chance to have a powerful and sturdy backer. He said: "I had within the last two weeks a letter from a gentleman holding a high official position, in regard to an officer whom he knew to have been dropped three times from the service for cause. He had also been to see me about him, and the last time he came he admitted to me that he had been engaged in defrauding the revenue; and yet he writes me, asking my attention to the case, requesting his appointment."

The Commission had been told by General Sharpe that the very important duty of the Government was sometimes intrusted to men of whom nothing was known when they came; and from the Appraiser's department came the complaint, that their delicate and responsible work was given to men who knew better how to hoe and to plough. But this little story of the Surveyor is interesting as showing the practical working of the appointment system in a case of a known thief, who was three times appointed to office, three times "eliminated" for cause, and a fourth time pressed, in at least two interviews and by letter, for reappointment by a high official cognizant of his guilt! Without knowing his name, or that of his patron, or what offices he had filled, with what chances of collusion and spoils, or what services or reward he rendered to the party or its leaders for such steadfast support under trying circumstances, the facts, so simply told by the Surveyor, may justly command attention. Mr. Collector Arthur seems to have seen in the incident nothing unusual—nothing to call for a single word of remark or explanation. But so striking an illustration of a system which admits the introduction and reintroduction among the honorable employés of the customs service of an experienced thief, goes far to explain the maladministration, the loss of revenue, and the injury to merchants.

The effect of habit upon opinion, and the approval heretofore given at Washington to the use of the custom-house as a partisan machine, to supply funds for elections and places for "the boys," help to interpret the cheerful view taken by the managers of the system as developed by General Arthur and his associates, which the President proposes to reform. When appointments are made

not on the integrity and capacity of the appointee, but on the political influence and needs of the appointer, irregularities must come, of course ; and Mr. Naval Officer Cornell philosophically remarks in his note on violations of law by the acceptance of gratuities and complicity in frauds, "The clerks are but human, and whenever there is a coincidence of temptation, frailty, and opportunity, there can naturally be but one result." No reason appears why the management of the customs, when honestly placed on a business footing, should not be as effective and satisfactory as that of the post-office under Mr. James ; and it can hardly escape notice at Washington that the opponents of reform rest chiefly on the hope that the President may be induced to make or permit appointments that will give color to their charge, that the cry of reform is only to delude the people, while the Government uses its patronage to subserve individual ambition.

Since the jobbery under the Grant Administration, at home and abroad, has become the subject of critical scrutiny, a rather elaborate effort has been made, combining with the skill of man the wit of woman, to justify or palliate official venality in the present, by historic precedents gathered from the past. It is unhappily easy to find abundant instances of the breach, by eminent culprits, of the eighth commandment, as of nearly all the rest, even in our own brief annals. Such examples, however, as Lord Bacon suggested, are a spurious progeny of time, not its legitimate offspring, having the right of hereditary descent ; and apologists for the perversion of governmental trusts to the purposes of ambitious leaders and their personal adherents find it difficult to invest with even a semblance of respectability what Burke rightly calls the "reptile vices."

One case referred to by Senator Hoar forcibly illustrates the world-wide national humiliation that may result from unfit appointments made from other motives than the interest of the country ; and, when the Vienna record shall be permitted to see the light, it will show the means to which the Government, after breaking its pledge to civil-service reform, was induced to resort, to avoid the responsibility for its acts, and to mislead the people whose interest and honor it had betrayed. The brief virtue exhibited in the suspension of the Commission when it was known that its management was corrupt, yielded to the demand that the

Government should, after the report of the investigation, reward the management which it had condemned. Then came the suppression of the record, its mutilation and perversion, the substitution in the synopsis of "it is not proven," for the words of the text "it is next proven"—a change that recalls Hamlet's "'Tis as easy as lying." Then came also the formulation and publication by the Government of a charge impugning the integrity of Messrs. Cannon, Roosevelt, and Spang, who had accepted the President's appointment as temporary commissioners, and who, by their skill, industry, devotion, and tact, had rendered the greatest service to the country.

Mr. Gladstone once quoted in the House of Commons the retort of Prince Henry to Falstaff :

"These lies are like the father that begot them,
Gross as a mountain, open, palpable."

But, were it desired to characterize fittingly the sort of loyalty exhibited by the Government toward the gentlemen who faithfully executed its orders at Vienna, it would puzzle even Mr. Gladstone to find in the English tongue a suitable expression.

President Hayes has succeeded to the contest for civil-service reform, and finds himself confronted on every side with the "mistakes" that followed General Grant's abandonment of his pledges, and which point the words of Burke, "Interested timidity disgraces as much in the cabinet as personal timidity in the field."

Relieved from a grave embarrassment, the Government has at last the power to purify the customs service in accord with its own order, and in so doing to advance commerce, to save millions of revenue, and to raise the tone of political morality. In a fair and fearless scrutiny of all the departments, the unearthing and abolition of illegal practices, the removal of unfit officials, the establishment of an exact discipline, excluding improper influences and unauthorized dictation, and placing the business of the Government on a business footing, the Government will command the hearty approval of the better classes of our people. They desire to see in the President the bold and vigorous leader, wise, confident, and aggressive, of the reform which he has begun ; developing throughout the country a policy of economy and justice that shall bring hope to those now struggling helplessly against municipal and State corruption ; securing in Congress the

support of experienced leaders, and through the press the aid of our ablest publicists and economists, even of some who have hardly believed in reform, or who amid the dreary waste of political corruption have begun to doubt of republican institutions.

The doctrine of spoils and the system of appointments have offended the morality and impaired the independence of the Republican party; and it is reported that in the rural districts, where custom-house dictation and interference have been borne impatiently, the President's order is hailed as a decree of emancipation.

Civil-service reform marching to victory under a President who adheres to his resolves, watches his opportunity, and exerts fearlessly his constitutional power for the due execution of the laws, heedless whom it may offend, presents a different aspect from the same reform crushed beneath the broken pledges of the late Administration, defied in the cabinet itself, and laughed to scorn by Government officials.

Astute politicians are again awake to the danger of opposing openly or by a cold silence the presidential policy that so commends itself to the patriotic pride, the self-respect, and material interests, of the American people: against whose intelligent and determined will no political devices can prevail. In the face of the corruption that lurks in our governmental system, and of the gigantic losses of revenue that add to the public burdens, and when every honest and patriotic citizen is ready to cry "God speed!" to the President in his efforts to restore the purity of the national service, the moment is inauspicious for a faction bent on the maintenance of partisan appointments in the teeth of the Constitution, and with their inevitable accessories of demoralization and plunder. An English poet has said, and our own annals prove its truth:

"Men the most infamous are fond of fame,
And those who fear not guilt yet start at shame."

JOHN JAY.